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D. GOULD.



THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. II. WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. NO. 29.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN, ALL MANKIND. [SATURDAY, JULY 21, 1832.

THE LIBERATOR

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THE LIBERATOR.

Come forward, then, we beseech you, as men—and as Christians—temperately, but fearlessly,—constitutionally, but DECIDEDLY—in the support of every legitimate measure for the utter abolition of a System which no prospect of private gain—no consideration of public advantage—no plea of political expediency—can sufficiently justify or excuse—thus will you extend the blessings of Liberty to Hundreds of Thousands of your fellow creatures—hold up to an enlightened world a glorious and merciful example,—and stand among the foremost in the defence of the violated Rights of Human Nature.

JUST REFLECTIONS.

The editor of the Lynn Record, referring to an address on the subject of slavery delivered in that patriotic town, on the 4th instant, uses the following language:

'No day, perhaps, is better adapted to urge an appeal in their behalf, than the Fourth of July. The day when our fathers arose from their slumbers, threw off the yoke of their allegiance to the Crown of Great Britain, and declared themselves free and independent. The birth-day of American liberty. And now, we boast of freedom—while a sixth part of our population are groaning beneath the yoke of servitude and toil—ay, while the voice of liberty is mingled with the shrill cry of suffering humanity. We boast of civil and religious privileges—but the poor Indians can obtain no redress for the wrongs and injuries we have done them. Pious and devoted ministers of the gospel, while engaged in the service of their master, are arrested—treated without the

least degree of lenity—and by the authority of her laws, incarcerated within the gloomy walls of a Georgia Penitentiary. Such is our freedom, and such are our civil and religious privileges. Well may we, like Jefferson, tremble for our country, when we reflect, God is just, and that his justice will not sleep forever. * * * The cord of sympathy is touched, and it vibrates from one end of the Union to the other, and will not cease to vibrate, until universal emancipation from chains and slavery be proclaimed, and the oppressed and degraded sons of Africa assume their legitimate place in the great scale of being. Then, will the pious exertions which have been made by philanthropists in every age, in their behalf, be duly appreciated.'

Some time ago, we were requested to send a copy of the Liberator, gratuitously, to the Reading Room of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Ct. We accordingly forwarded our paper, and in return received, a few days since, the following letter:

MIDDLETOWN, July 4th, 1832.

MR. EDITOR—The Reading Room Society of the Wesleyan University acknowledge your liberality and kindness in forwarding gratuitously the Liberator; but for several reasons they make it the duty of their committee to have it discontinued. The principal reason is, that a number of its members, not approving the principles supported by it, decline receiving it.

Yours respectfully,
In behalf of the Society,
ELISHA B. NYE,
HOLDEN DWIGHT, } Committee.

To the Editor of the Liberator, Boston, Mass.

We are very sorry to learn that there are any individuals in the University who do not approve the principles of the Liberator—for those principles require, first, the love of God supremely—secondly, strict obedience to his law—and lastly, the fulfilment of the divine precept, 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' We suspect the true cause of the discontinuance of the paper is, a willingness to be deceived on the subject of colonization, or a fear, on the part of certain advocates of the scheme in that place, lest their views, inimical to the Colonization Society, should be exposed. Whatever may be the cause, we are sure that no efforts to extinguish the light of truth can long succeed.

AN EFFECTUAL PLEADER!

We commend the following letters, from gentlemen of respectability and moral worth in Providence, to the attention of the Rev. Mr. Danforth, the Agent of the American Colonization Society, who is now in this vicinity—earnestly beseeching him (if he will not give up his barbarous crusade) to make another visit to Providence, since his lectures are attended with such excellent results. We cannot, however, spare him long from this city, as (we speak advisedly) he is doing much to open the eyes of our citizens to the abominations of the colonization scheme. The names of the authors of these letters are at the service of Mr. Danforth.

PROVIDENCE, July 7, 1832.

CHANGE OF VIEWS.

SIR—I am not acquainted with you, nor you with me, personally; therefore you cannot judge of the sincerity of what I am about now to communicate. Yet I have thought best to inform you how I once felt, and now feel, in regard to the object in which you are so deeply, humbly and indefatigably engaged.

I have been a professor of religion for about three years, and have consequently been deeply engaged in all the great and important benevolent objects of the day, feeling a great desire for the amelioration and salvation of man.

Among other objects, has been presented the Colonization Society, as claiming the liberal support of all philanthropists, patriots and Christians; and especially on the 4th of July, each year, when we sing the Te Deum of our nation's jubilee, 'that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, LIBERTY, and the pursuit of happiness'—and to which I have, until the past jubilee, liberally contributed towards the funds of the Society, as well as at other times when we have had special calls by its itinerant agents, who have at some times even brought the chains and fetters in which slaves have been bound into the desk with them, and exhibited them to the audience; at the same time crying against the evil of slavery, and holding up the principles of the Colonization Society as the only effectual remedy for this evil. Feeling and realizing the evil, and taking what he said for truth, without even examination, I with many of my brethren have had our purse-strings imperceptibly break under such sympathetic appeals, and his pockets loaded, to forward the benevolent society. Consequently, I have been, until recently, a strong advocate for Colonization—though I never have had all the prejudice against the colored population in this city and vicinity, as many colonizationists have manifested; for I have ever been against taxing them for government, when they have no privilege to our free schools, which has been done in

this place; and have also stood by and voted for a resolution appropriating only fifty dollars, presented by the venerable Nicholas Brown, towards defraying the expenses of a large school the blacks themselves had gotten up, which resolution was rejected at the time by a dissolution of the meeting.

I have, to be sure, had some misgivings and doubts how this Society would ever cure the evil of slavery, when I have read such sentiments in the African Repository as the following: 'The execution of its scheme would augment instead of diminishing the value of the property at home.'—'The object of the Colonization Society commends itself to every class of society: the landed proprietor may enhance the value of his property by assisting the enterprise,' &c. with many others which I cannot now quote; neither could I fairly understand how the slaveholder could give to the Colonization Society with the same feelings that I did. But all my misgivings, doubts and fears were completely obliterated a few weeks ago, when I attended a lecture in its behalf by the Rev. Mr. Danforth in this city. His arguments and logic were conclusive to my mind, and I left the house a convert from the Society, I trust forever. Never more can I support a Society whose primary object is to rid the country of free blacks, and make an outlet for this curse on our country, as I understood him to say in his lecture.

I find the subject is not generally understood among our citizens. We have been in the habit of hearing only one side of the question publicly discussed, and that agreeing with the unholy and unchristian prejudice existing against the blacks by the whites in this country, it is not to be otherwise expected but that the chains of prejudice will be tighter and tighter riveted against the free blacks here, and the chains of slavery in the south—until the friends of abolition and immediate emancipation arise and shake themselves, and cause such a vibration on public sentiment, that our legislators shall legislate throughout this vast nation on the principles of '76, that 'all men are created equal'—and then there will be no more slavery applied to this nation and its inhabitants; whereas now more than two millions are in bondage and slavery.

By saving my 4th of July contribution, I have subscribed for the Liberator, and trust soon to be more firmly confirmed in my conversion on this subject.

Respectfully yours,

PROVIDENCE, July 12, 1832.

THE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON:

DEAR SIR—I recently had an opportunity of hearing two lectures from the Rev. Mr. Danforth of Washington city, in behalf of the American Colonization Society. Previous to his coming to this place, my own mind had been somewhat interested for that portion of our fellow beings who, contrary to every principle of justice and humanity, are held in bondage, worse by far than what the Israelites endured when subjected to the cruel yoke of Egyptian despotism. With a mind thus prepared, you may judge with what pleasure I read the notice in the papers of this city of his determination to deliver lectures for the benefit of that much injured portion of our fellow beings. I expected, of course, to hear a plan suggested that should have for its object the final emancipation of the colored slaves of our country. In the former part of his discourse he animadverted at considerable length on the horrors of slavery and the slave trade, making at the same time very ample quotations from the speeches of Wilberforce, Fox, and others, before the British Parliament, on the same subject. He next introduced his (or rather the American Colonization Society's) plan for ameliorating the condition of (not the bond men and bond women of our country, but) that portion of our colored population who are nominally free. He stated that the Society had, since its commencement, conveyed to Liberia about 200 per year, and that the object of his mission to New-England was to obtain funds to enable the Society to augment the number of those who might be considered fit subjects to be conveyed there. He kept entirely out of sight the fact that the yearly increase of the colored population of our country amounted to upwards of seventy thousand; for if he had stated this, I question very much whether he would have obtained a single dollar to aid his scheme. He stated that it cost the Society 25 dollars to transport a colored person to Liberia; consequently it would require one million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars to remove annually a number equal to the yearly increase of the colored people of our country. If this expenditure had been made, even admitting the plan of the Society to have been of the most benevolent character, it would have been regarded as altogether chimerical; but this exposure he most adroitly kept out of sight; so that he obtained contributions to help forward the Society's plans. I did not feel perfectly satisfied with what he said on the subject: it appeared to me that there was something behind the curtain he was unwilling should be seen. I had had some acquaintance with the evils of slavery from my own personal observation. I

felt disposed, therefore, to embrace any plan that should remedy an evil so appalling to every principle of justice and true piety as that of slavery. Not having penetration enough to look through the whole length of the Society's plans, I, like many others, gave money to aid them in their unrighteous enterprise, for which I am most heartily sorry. Had your 'Thoughts on Colonization' been read previous to his coming amongst us, I verily believe he would not have found an individual in Providence who could have been so completely lost to every principle of common honesty as to have aided him in his designs. Since reading your book on colonization, I am convinced that notwithstanding the good motives that many of that Society may have, yet that it is a most wicked scheme—one that is calculated (in my opinion) to depress still lower the free people of color, and to fix more permanently the chains of slavery on those who are now groaning under the pressure of involuntary servitude. I believe, sir, you are engaged in a cause that will ultimately triumph. The voice of humanity—the voice of religion—the voice of God is heard, saying, 'Go on, be of good courage; for in due time ye shall reap those precious fruits that repay the toils of all those who are faithful in the cause of the Lord their Master.'

You will please send me the Liberator, the money for which I will pay your agent here. You may also be assured that I shall do all I can towards promoting its circulation in this city.

Respectfully yours,

For the Liberator.

AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

TO REV. ISAAC ORR, LETTER IX.

'Therefore, all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.'—JESUS CHRIST.

SIR—The climate of Africa is represented by Colonizationists as healthy and congenial to the habits of the colored people of America.

That these colored people living near the Equator, can endure the heat of the Torrid Zone, no one will venture to deny. The greater part of the free colored people reside many degrees north of the Equator, and the climate of Africa, therefore, is not suitable for them. African Colonizationists have endeavored to make it appear, that although the climate of Africa is not healthy for the white man, it is altogether suitable for colored Americans. How they account for this anomaly, I cannot divine. But I can easily explain this mystery. Colonizationists are white, and are not at all disposed to go to Africa. Is it, then, to be wondered at, that men, desiring to remain in this country, and, on account of their prejudices, opposed to having the free blacks amongst them, should use such language as the following:—'Although there is no want of individuals ready to hazard life, or die for a noble cause, YET THE SACRIFICE OF SUCH MEN IS NOT TO BE JUSTIFIED, (!!!) when the object to be attained can be safely accomplished by men of color. (!!) Every white man, who tries a residence within six miles of the Equator, does it at his peril; while the black man may fix his abode there without hesitation.'—I. I appeal to the knowledge of the community in relation to the habits and constitutions of the free blacks, to prove that the above cannot be true. Who, with the least discernment, cannot see that the blacks, by a long residence in our climate, have become so thoroughly habituated to it, that a removal to another so widely opposite to ours as is that of Africa, would be as injurious to them as to the whites? Witness the concessions of Colonizationists on this point. Read the following:

'But it may be said, perhaps, that the emigrants to Africa have many difficulties to encounter, and that the climate is destructive to health and life. We admit that there are difficulties and trials, and that the climate has, in some cases, (particularly among persons from the Northern and from the high lands of our Middle States,) proved injurious to health and even fatal to life itself.' 2.

Read the following heart-rending statement, and ponder on its contents! It relates to the arrival of a few emigrants at Liberia.

'The new emigrants had been just permitted to exchange congratulations with their friends, and the Agent to announce in a letter to the Board the rejoicings upon their arrival, when the usual disease commenced its attacks, and in a few days, not an individual of their number had escaped its power!' 3.

Coming as this does, from a source whence little liberality can be expected, it applies with double force to our argument. Those who emigrate to Africa are, most generally, exceedingly poor; therefore, they are obliged to be exposed to all weathers, to the deleterious effects of the night air, to over exertion, and a thousand other inconveniences which those who have nothing to do but to watch over the colony, and who do not work themselves, can know nothing of. It is comparatively easy to perform the duties of an Agent, (i. e. to get a salary of \$1500 per annum)

to what it is to be in the situation of a poor emigrant who is obliged to toil incessantly for the means of livelihood. And the Agents at Liberia, perhaps, find it easy enough to frame a story of the good health of the colony, taking good care to secure the services of those who can, when called upon, pronounce a contradiction of such well sustained facts to be 'laughable!' * This is a benevolent mode of doing business!

Colonization papers tell us that the health or life of a colored man is not at all endangered by going to Africa! But if a white man goes there, it is certain death! We are all liable to ambiguity in expressing our ideas; therefore Colonizationists are excusable for not saying as follows: 'We do not relish the idea of leaving our native country, but we want to get rid of the black population, by some means or other. Now, if we tell them the truth in relation to the climate of Africa, we cannot get them to go; if we say that the white people can live in Africa as well as the colored people of America, they will then ask us why we don't go there; so we find it most expedient to tell them that if we go to Liberia, we do it at a very great risk; if they go, it will all be well!'

All the advocates of the Colonization Society stay at home; they do not go to Liberia to instruct the colonists; they would have no objection to go to Africa, if the climate was not so unhealthy. If it be admitted that the human race are all of 'one blood'—then it must also be admitted that the colored Americans are just as liable to experience the ill-effects of the climate of Africa, as the whites.

And we are told that the settlers of New-England had to encounter evils as great as those which the Liberian emigrants experience. Admitting this to be true, it is no argument in favor of the Colonization Society. A portion of the dissenters from the Established Church in England, being an asylum in the (then) wilderness of North America. They voluntarily agreed to emigrate hither. And in consequence of this emigration, we behold the United States of America, a civilized nation.

Well, Anti-Colonizationists have no objection whatever to the civilization of Africa; they have no objection to the voluntary emigration of a few enterprising individuals; they think that the emigrants had better be white men, because they are better fitted for imparting instruction than the blacks. Had a Society been formed to expel all the dissenters from the Church of England, it would have been unrighteous in the extreme. But instead of the emigration of all the dissenters, only a small part of them left England. The rest weathered the storm of persecution for a season, and now, instead of meeting in bye places to enjoy their religious rights, they can profess their opinions as freely, and worship their God as publicly, as the Church of England. This affords us a proof that difficulties which often appear insurmountable can be overcome by perseverance, and an exemplary course of conduct; and thus can prejudice against color be overcome.

It is idle in men to tell us that it is just to send a part of this community away, because they will be more happy after they are removed, when they are opposed to such a project, and are pledged to support each other, and to choose death in preference to a removal. They cannot be happy if they go to Africa contrary to their consent; it is utterly impossible. And if the free colored people are opposed to emigration, they must be coerced. For proof that they are almost unanimously opposed to going to Africa, I would refer you to Part II. of Wm. Lloyd Garrison's recently published pamphlet on 'African Colonization.' There you will find the proceedings of the colored people of all the principal cities of the Union, and their remonstrances against expatriation.

The climate of Africa is not very healthy even according to the opinions of Colonizationists themselves. You may recollect that I stated in my first Letter, that Mr. Ashmun acknowledged it to be unsafe for old men inhabiting the Northern States, to go to Africa. But Mr. Ashmun

* Mr. Russwurm's laughing does not alter the uncontradicted facts which have been, from time to time, published in the Liberator; one of which I will bring forward. A gentleman, (Mr. Daly,) of Philadelphia, states that out of one family who emigrated to Liberia from the state of Ohio, thirty one, in number, thirty died, on their arrival in Africa! Despite of the humorous disposition of the Editor of the Liberia Herald, these facts speak loudly of the inexpediency of a removal of our colored people to Africa. We beg leave to remind Mr. Russwurm that he is now where his laughing will do no harm. We are very willing that he should laugh and cry as much as he pleases while in Africa; but we did not like his laughing in his sleeve when he professed to plead the cause of his brethren.

